TO MAISTER ANTHONIE BACON.

An Apologie of the Earle of Essex, against those which falsly and maliciously taxe him to be the onely hinderer of the peace, and quiet of his countrey.

HE that eyther thinketh he hath, or wisheth to haue an excellent face, no sooner is tolde of any spot or vncomelinesse in his countenance, then he hieth to shewe himselfe too a glasse, that the glasse may shew againe his true likenesse vnto him. The same curiositie mooues me that desires to haue a faire minde, to shewe a true face, and state of my mind, to my true friend; that he like a true glasse, without iniurie or flatterie, may tell me whether nature or accident haue set so foule a blemish in it, as my accusers pretend.

I am charged that eyther in affection, or opinion, or both, I preferre warre before peace, and so consequently that all my counsailes, actions, and endeuours, do tende to keepe the state of England in continuall warre: especially at this time, when some say peace may be had, and onely impugne it. But both my heart disclames so barbarous an affection, and my iudgement so absurd an opinion. And that the reputation of a most faithfull subiect, and zealous patriot, which with the hazard of my life and decay of my estate I haue sought to purchase, must not suffer so vgly and odious aspersion, that mine actions haue

 caused,

caused, maintained, or increased the warres, or had euer any such scope or intent. First, for mine affection in nature I was indifferent to bookes, or to armes: and was more inflamed with the loue of knowledge, then with the loue of fame, witnes your rarely qualified brother, and that most learned and truly honest maister *Sauill*: yea, my contemplatiue retiredneſſe in *Wales*, and my bookiſhneſſe from my very childhoode. And nowe if time reaſon and experience, haue taught me to wiſh that to my ſelf, which is best for my ſelf, what would I not wiſh rather then martiall employments: In which I haue impaired my eſtate, loſt my deare and onely brother, the halfe arch of mine houſe, buried many of my deareſt and neareſt friendes, and ſubiected my ſelfe to the rage of the ſeas, violence of tempeſtes, infections of generall plagues, famines, and all kinde of wantes, diſcontentment of vndiſciplined and vnruly multitudes, and acceptations of euentes: while I did not only
,, leaue my known enemies elbow roome to ſeek their owne and their friends aduancemnts, but was faine ſometimes vpon truſt of their proteſtations after new reconcilement to make them the receiuers, cenſurers, and anſwerers of all my diſpatches. And as mine affection neither in truth is (nor if I regard my ſelfe) in reaſon ought to be ſet vpon thoſe courſes of the warres: So (in my iudgement) I haue euer thought warres the diſeaſes and ſickneſſes, and peace the true naturall and healthfull temper for all eſtates. I haue thought excellent mindes ſhould come to the warre as ſurgions do to their cures, whē no eaſie or ordinary, yet no other remedie will ſerue. Or as men in particular queſtions are allowed to challenge combate, when their is no way but by the ſword to proue the truth of their plea, and to obtaine their detained right, yea I will goe one degree further: I thinke that Prince or ſtate offends, aſmuch as gainſt iuſtice, and againſt reaſon, that omitteth a faire occaſion of an Hon: and ſafe peace, as they which raſhly and cauſeleſly moue an vniuſt warre. Theſe principles ha-

ing made mee conclude this generall *Thesis* common
o all estates, that *peace is to be preferred before warre*, I will
ome to an *Hipothesis* proper to the state of England: wher
ost part of the wealth of the land, and reuenewes of the
rowne growe by traffique and intercourse, and whereas
lmost all traffique is interrupted by the warres, where
ate in largenesse of territorie and wealth which is the si-
ewes of warre, is inferiour to that of the enemie: where
esides all forraine warres, there is yet besides a great fire
f rebellion vnquenched, where associats in warre giue o-
er the quarrell, neigbours are suspected neutrals, and
hew ill affection, and the people themselues growe weary
f the chardge and miserie of warres, there of all places
eace should be imbraced, if it be offered and sought for
y honourable and fit meanes, if it may be accomplished,
But though warres bee diseases, yet I thinke it better to
uffer some sickenesse, then to venture vppon euery medi-
cine; But to trust an enemies faith, when his perfidie shal
ndoe, or extremely indanger vs, and infinitely aduantage
himselfe, were *Medicum hæredem facere*. It is no cure to
bring a state from a doubtfull war, to an vnsafe treatie: It
is no more then to put a feuerous bodie, out of a hotte fit
into a colde. To conclude, as an vnskilfull Phisition may
by weakening a naturall bodie, with his medicines bring
it from tertian or quartan feuer into an hectique, so an
vnprouident statesman may with conditions or treatie,
so disarme a state of the friendes reputation, and the
strength it hath, as the cure will proue farre worse then
the disease. Therefore it is not the name of warre or
peace, but the circumstances or conditions of eyther of
them, that should make vs flee the one, and imbrace the
other. Now what are the circumstances of our warre or
peace with *Spaine* it shall appeare in his proper place in
the treatise following. But erre I passe further, least this
profession of my disposition and affection too warre or
peace, be challenged to be but a faire pretence, and these

rules which I auowi to holde in iudgement, be compared to the doctrine of ſome diuines of our time, fartheſt of all from their practiſe: I haue thought good to anſwere ſome obiections of my detractors: who will ſay mine entring into the action of the low countreyes, ere I was out of pupill age, my putting my ſelfe into the iourney of *Portugall* without chardge or licence, my procuring my ſelfe the conducting of her Maieſties ſuccours to the Frenche king in the yeare 91. my Sea iourneies theſe twoo laſt ſommers, wherein booth my ſelfe, and my friendes, ventured deepely of our owne priuate meanes, my neare friendſhippe with the chiefe menne of action, and generall affection to the men of warre of our nation. And laſtly my oppoſing my ſelf againſt the treatie of peace at this time when others perſwade vnto it: That all theſe I ſay are argumentes that I wiſh not peace, but delight in warre: But for my going into the lowe countries, if neyther the company of my father in lawe, the Honourable chardge of the generall of the horſe in a faire armie, when I was but 19. yeares old, then taking the ſtart of thoſe of mine owne ranckes, when I ſawe the ſtate of *England* not onely diſpoſed to great actions, but ingaged in them. If theſe reaſons were not ſufficient to warrant my courſe, yet conſider what choice I had, or what elſe could I haue done with my ſelfe, In the court I had ſmall grace and few friends: In mine owne houſe in the country I had not liued a yeere, till the opinion of the worlde obraided mee, with more retiredneſſe then was fit for my yeares, or the preſent time: And to haue gone to trauell, when my country ſent out ſo great an armie, had bin as much as to haue turned ouer bookes onely to gaze at the babies and pictures, whilſt others were ſtudying the ſence.

For to iuſtifie my going into *Portugal*, I muſt plead theſe circumſtances, Firſt, of the perſon, with whom I went: A poor diſtreſſed exiled king, whom I had heard oftentimes repeate the ſtorie of his owne oppreſſions.

Secondly,

Secondly, of the enemies against whom I went: An insolent, cruell, and vsurping nation, that disturbed the common peace, aspired to the conquest of my countrey, and was a generall enemie to the libertie of Christendome.

Thirdly, of the cause in which I went: to deliuer the oppressed out of the handes of the oppressors, and by giuing the *Spaniard* his handfull at home, to free both mine owne countrey, and our confederats, from the feare and daunger of his attempts.

And lastly, of the time in which I went. A time when mine eyes full of disdaine, had so lately seene their falsly called inuincible *Armado* saile by our shores, when all the braue heartes of this kingdome boyled, till they sawe that insolent enemie taught both to knowe himselfe, and to value vs. And when my heart was perswaded by both these circumstances, I engaged my meanes, kinsfolkes, friendes, and followers, else neither the aduenture had beene made vp, nor the iourney performed, It being no allowed action of her Maiesties, but a mere aduenture of priuate men. And when I was so farre in, I confesse I was not of their humour, that loue to wager vpon other mens chances, or sit at home like merchants, whilst their hopes and goodes are ventured abroad.

For my going without charge, or leaue, I must auowe, the one, as out of counsell and excuse, the other, as by necessity. I chose to goe without charge, that I might bee free to execute the lesse: I commanded not, that I might not be obnoxious to the successe, and because I had ouerthrowne the vioage, If I had stood vpon the commission. And I could take no second place, hauing before the same time and in the same army had place aboue the generall. But though I had no chardge, yet I made my brother generall of the horse, and my faithfull friend Syr *Roger Williams* colonell generall of the infantry, 7. or 8 of my fast friendes colonels, and 20. at the least of my domesticks,

captaines, so as I might haue authoritie and party enough when I would. For my want of leaue I must plead necessitie, her Maiestie hauing resolued to sende none of my qualitie, and many at home shewing enuie inough to those poore gent. that were named, which made me foresee with what successe I should haue sued for leaue.

For my conducting her Maiesties forces to the French King in 92. I must alledge, that the sending of the succours was resolued on before my name was in question. And if I had not offered my selfe to the iourney, some other noble man that neuer had place in the warres, might (as the phrase is in the common law) haue beene promoted *per Saltum*: and so I that neuer had her Maiesties commission to commaunde in chiefe, should haue seene my *puisnes* leape ouer my head. Also I felt that my fortune had bred mee enuie, and that enuie procured mee strong and dangerous opposition, and this opposition would not be ouercaryed, but by her Maiesties great fauour, and that the greatnesse of her Maiesties fauour, must growe out of the greatnesse of her seruantes merite: and I sawe no way of merite lie so open to me, as by my seruice in the warres, the times themselues and my owne beginning fitting vnto it, and at that time none of my countrey, of my ranke disposing himselfe that way: If besides all this it be considered that I went to a king, who for his admirable valour, and often fighting with his owne handes, was not onely the most famous king, but also the most redoubted Captaine of all Christendome. That the intended seruice was to free the maritime partes of *Normandy*, from the handes of the league or power of the *Spaniard*: that thereby the common enemie should finde lesse succour or fauour in these Seas If these thinges be well considered, I doubt not but my French iourney will be thought sufficiently iustified.

But perhaps in these actions, wherein either I had no charge at all, or was commaunded by others, or offered

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my selfe to the seruice, when the imploiment was before resolued on. I hauing no parte or interest in that counsell, my Apologie will be the better allowed of, then in my two last Sea iourneyes, wherein I am charged to bee the authour of the counsell, aswell as the executor of the seruice, wherefore first for the first.

For the counsell of going into *Spaine*, I protest I had no more parte in that, then my L. *Treasurer*, my L. *Admirall*, and master *Secretary*, who were all priuie from the beginning, and did assent, and aduice to the iourney asmuch as I did, her Maiestie did first moue for the defensiue, vppon intelligence that the king of *Spaine* did both purpose and prepare to assaile her, finding that she did strengthen the low countries, and fortifie against him, molested him in his *Indies*, choaked him by Sea: So that his counsell resolued that to be the shortest and easiest way to all his ends, to begin with *England*. And when her Maiestie was armed, and able to take the starte, it was thought both a wise and safe counsell, not to lease so great, and so faire an opportunitie. For the proiect of going to *Cadiz* I haue euer confessed it was my Lord *Admirals* my colleagues. If any man will single me out to chardge me alone with any thing, it must needs be that whē all the charg of preparation was past the armie leauied & marching to the *Kandeuous*, and the low countrey fleete that was to ioine with vs in the way, that then I was as constant in the iourney, as I had bin all the while before when I might haue sold the honour of my Soueraigne, the securitie of my countrey, the contentment of our confederates, the hopes and almost whole fortunes of hundreds of my friendes that I had drawne into that iourney, for some priuate gaine vnto my selfe. If any man will vse so base a speach, as that wee offended the kinge of *Spaine* so deepely in that iourney, as that he is nowe implacable, and further from peace; I answere *vana sine viribus ira*, wee brought away and burnt his shipping, and destroyed his Sea prouisions,

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yea, we put him to such chardge and losse, as he shortely after played banckrupte with all his creditours. Let me euer see his strength decrease, though his malice increase rather then beleeue in his faith and good nature, when his strength is great. If any man will on the other side obiect, that though we had good hap, yet our designement was naught, for it drew the warre to no end, I must confesse, I neither performed what I purposed, nor thought that which was done sufficient: I purposed to dwell in a port of the enemies, and so to make a continual diuersion of the warres: witnesse my letters to the Lordes of the counsell, dated from *Plymouth* the first of Iune 96 and deliuered by my Secretory *Rainolds* at *Greenewich* the 6. of the same moneth. And when I was possessed of *Cadz*, I offered to stay with 3. or 4000. men, if that whole fleete could haue furnished vs but with three moneths victuals, witnesse the whole counsell of warre. And by these meanes I doubted not to haue brought the warres in those partes to a shorte ende, and also to haue made the king of *Spaine* weary of seeking to dislodg me: But my letters was neyther answered nor liked here, nor I at *Cadz* able to feede my selfe, and the men of warre, till a supply might haue come. So that except to bee of that minde my fellowes were, that were called to councel, or to haue ioyned with my Lord *Admirall* when he offered to take an equall commission of commaundement with me, both by Sea, and by land, to haue sought as we could to weaken him, that by all meanes he can, seeketh to destroy and conquer vs: And if to haue failed in doing that which I had no warrant nor meanes to doe, be a fault in my iourney in 96. I committed no fault.

For my last iourney in 97. let it be remembred how I was brought into it, with what counsell and designes I went out, and what was the true causes of the want of such successe, as in our owne hopes wee promised to our selues, and that if I vndertooke more then dutie laid vp-

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in me, or aduiſed any thing that reaſon made not proba-
le, or failed of any thing, that any poſſibilitie inabled me
nto, I will thinke the hardeſt cenſurer of me doe me no
rong. But firſt it is well knowne that her Maieſtie had
rmed and victualed 10. of her owne ſhippes, and cauſed
he ſtates of the lowe countries to prepare the like num-
er, before euer I was ſpoken of to goe to Sea. And when
ny Lord *Thomas Howard*, and Syr *Walter Ranlegh*, who
hould haue beene ſent foorth with this force, thought
heir hopes of doing any great ſeruice weake and vncer-
aine. And the newes of the *Adelantadoes* preparation at
arroll and the *Groine* were newly confirmed: a new coun-
ell was called, in which her Maieſtie reſolued that this
orce prepared, was to great for a diſcouerie, and too litle
or an attẽpt. That a fleet inferiour to that the *Adelantado*
ommaunded, might light vpon ſome merchants, or take
ſhermen to learne newes, but ſhould neuer be in poſſi-
ilitie to take any of the king of *Spaines* treaſure, or ſhould
afely lie on the coaſtes of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, being able
o commaund no port, nor daring to fight with the ene-
ies fleete, when it ſhould come out. And laſtly that a
cete without an armie to land, might tayle from *Cape* to
ape, and returne when their victuals were ſpent without
oing other ſeruice: For the *Adelantado* would not come
orth, if he liked not his match, and the Indian fleete
ight be ſtayed at the Ilands, or by the aduiſers directi-
n, ſo alter their courſe as they ſhould hardly be intercep-
ed, then a newe conſideration was had, what might be
one by a ſufficient force by Sea and land. It was reſolued
hat not onely *Farroll*, where the *Adelantado* lay, but any
ort of *Spaine* might be entred, and the forces of the king,
hat ſhould be found in it beaten and deſtroyed: Or any
ort or Iland of the enemie taken and fortified, beſides
he commaunding of any fleete of warre, or of treaſure
hat ſhould be met with at Sea, if 6. ſhips of her Maieſties
nd 5000. land ſouldiers, with 500. Sayleis to tranſporte

 them

them were added to the former preparation. All which conditions being agreed vnto, and my Lord *Admirall* excusing himselfe from the iourney, by the indisposition of his body, I had warning to prepare my selfe to take the charge. When I went foorth, my first designe was vppon *Farroll*, both by her Maiesties commaundment, and mine owne choise, for when I hadde defeated that force, I might goe after whether I listed, and doe almost what I listed, (I meane) vpon any places vpon that coast. And of doing what I would vpon that fleete and army at *Farroll* I had little cause to doubt, if God had giuen me a fauourable passage and season, to land the armie, and enter the Porte, their preparation to resist being all knowne, and little mooving any distrust of the possibilitie, or facilitie of this kinde of enterprize. I thinke I haue satisfied you in some of my former papers, especially in my discourse written as I came home from *Cadz*, and I will satisfie any reasonable man, that will speake with me of it. The aduantages that would haue growne by it are manifest: Her Maiesties dominion for a long time, from any inuasion from *Spaine* had beene secured. The king of *Spaine* his fleete both going foorth, and comming home, vtterly vnegarded, the taking of the *Spanish* and *Portugall* Iles more easie, the enterprise vpon the East and West Indies warranted from two of the greatest daungers, an encounter by Sea, and an inuasion by land, whilst her Maiesties forces were absent: To conclude her Maiestie had beene such an absolute Queene of the *Ocean*, and her enemie so disarmed by Sea, as shee might eyther enforce him to any conditions of peace, or make warre to her infinite aduantage, and his vtter ruine, I had also thought vppon some places which I might haue holden for the diuersion of the warres, and if euer the taking of the Indian fleete were likely, I know I should haue beene in a faire way for it: though I confesse these hopes were so vncertaine, as I reckoned them but by chaunce. My first, chiefest, and

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naine designe being to assayle the *Adelantado* in *Farroll*: *Farroll* was the *Randeuous* I gaue, to *Farroll* I directly shaped my course: and at *Farroll* I had mastered the fleet, that lay there whole yeares threatning my countrey, or driuen that armie into the hils, or sacrificed my selfe. The causes frustrating this designe, were first the violent long tempest, which tooke vs in the height of 46. scattered our fleete, disinabled and almost drowned most of our principall shippes, Aud when we could no longer beate it vp against the winde, draue vs backe vppon our owne coast: Next that vnreasonable stormie weather, which kept vs a moneth after we were put backe from attempting to goe foorth againe: and lastly our wantes, which forced vs to discharge our whole land armie sauing 1000. men, for mine owne excuse how long I dured ere I turned backe, and to what desperate case I brought my shippes, there bee witnesses enough. Also her Maiestie and her counsell know, what proffer of seruice I made her, when I came vp post from *Plymouth*, accompanied with Syr *Walter Rawleigh*, if shee would but haue let me gone, but with halfe the fleete, and lesse then half the land armie to such place as my selfe and the counsell of warre had chosen for to be. sure the enemie and not her Maiestie should feele the waight and charge of the iourney. And when her Maiestie accepted not of that offer, euen a little before my last going foorth, I went to her Maiestie to offer the attempting of the fleete in *Farroll*, if she would giue me leaue to hazard the 1000. land souldiers, with some number of the flie boates, and merchantes ships, and the Saint *Mathew* and the Saint *Andrew* for my selfe, and one other commaunder to goe in, as a guard for the rest, as fit ships to beare the greatest of the *Gallions*, leauing al the queens shippes and the other principall commaunders, without in the *Bay*, till we had tryed our fortune. Of this letter I receiued answere, tying me to hazard none but these, and yet with some limitations: But I lost the Saint *Mathew* by

breaking the fore maſt, and I loſt company firſt of the S. *Andrew* ere I came to the opening of the *Groine*: and then the ſame night while I was faine to lie by the *lee*, for ſtopping of a deſperate leeke, I loſt the company of my Lord the vice admirall, by a miſchaunce that fell to his ſhippe, and 30. ſayle amongſt which were many of the companies of the ſouldiers, ſo that in effect I wanted all thoſe meanes that were allotted for my attempt. And then I houered vp and downe thoſe coaſtes, in which I had directed ſuch as ſhould loſe company to ſeeke me in, and ſent out Pinnaces euery way till the Admirall of the ſquadron that was miſſing, ſent me word, when I was in the height of 40 that the *Adelantado* was gone foorth with his fleete, and gone ſtraight to the *Terreras* to waſt home the *Indian* fleete, then I reſolued after I had called a counſell to go foorth to ſeeke him, and though I fayled of him, becauſe he neuer offered to come foorth, till long after, yet I miſſed very narrowly and vnfortunately, of the weſt *Indian* fleete, if I had met them before they got to the *Terceras*, there could none of them haue eſcaped: And mette with them I had, if a falſe intelligence had not made me ſtand one night a contrary way. But it was the wil of God there ſhould bee ino blowe ſtrooken at Sea that yeare, elſe when at the ſame time I returned from the Ilandes, and the *Adelantado* bare for the coaſt of *England*, we had not ſo narrowly miſſed the one the other as we did.

I haue nowe ſhewed you (worthy Maiſter *Bacon*) with what minde I vndertooke theſe forraine imploimens and actions of the warre. A word for my friendſhippe to the chiefe men of action, and fauour generall to the men of warre: and then I come to the maine obiection, which is the croſſing of the treatie in hande. For moſt of them which are accounted the chiefe men of action, I doe intirely loue them: they haue beene my companions both abroad and at home: Some of them began the wars with me, moſt of them haue had place vnder me, and many of them

them had me a witnesse of their rising, from Captaynes, Lieuetenants, and priuate men, to these charges which since by their vertues they haue obtayned. Now I knowe their vertue I would chuse them for friends, if I had them not, but before I had tryed them, God in his prouidence chose them for me: I loue them for my owne sake, for I finde sweetenesse in their conuersation, strong assistance in their imployment with mee, and happinesse in their friendshippe, I loue them for their vertues sake, for their greatnesse of minde: *For little mindes though neuer so full of vertue, can be but a little vertuous.* For their vnderstanding: *For to vnderstand little or thinges not in vse, is little better then to vnderstand nothing at all.* For their affection: *For soft louing men, loue ease pleasure and profit.* But they that loue paines, daunger, and fame, shewe they loue the publique profite more then themselues. I loue them for my countries sake, for they are *Englands* best armour of defence, and weapons of offence. If we may haue peace, they haue purchased it, if we must haue warre, they must manadge it, yet whilst we are doubtfull, and in treatie, we must value our selues by what may be done, and our enemie will value vs by what hath beene done, by our chiefe men of action. That generally I am affected to the men of warre, it should not seeme strange to any reasonable man: Euery man loueth those of his owne profession: the graue Iudge fauours the student of the lawe, the reuerend Bishoppes the labourers of the ministerie, And I, since her Maiestie hath yeerely vsed my seruice in her late actions, must reckon my selfe to the number of her men of warre. Before action, prouidence makes me cherish them, for the seruice they can doe, and after action, experience and thanketulnesse makes me loue them for the seruice they haue done. I know great scandal lieth vpon the profession of Armes, as if it were a schole of dissoluteneesse: but that groweth by cõmandemẽt & charg giuen to dissolute chiefs, & it is a fault of the professors not of the pro-

ſeſſion. For a campe ought to be, (and if it be well gouer-
ned) is the beſt ſchoole, to make religion truely felt, and
piety and honeſtie to be duly practiſed. For my ſelfe I am
ſure, they that loue me leaſt, (if thou know any thing of my
gouernment when I am abroad) wil taxe me rather for be-
ing to be too ſeuere, then charg me for being to remiſſe &
popular. But I long to leaue theſe diſputations, which are
but ſkirmiſhes, and will come to ioyne with my aduerſa-
ries in that encounter, wherein they labour both to ouer-
throwe my credite, with my Soueraigne, and my country.
They ſay that *England* cannot ſtand without peace, peace
cannot growe but by treatie, treatie cannot bee had, but
when the enemie offers it, and now when the enemie of-
fers to treate, the doubtes I caſt, and argumentes I frame,
doe ſhew I would not haue her Maieſties commiſſioners
ſent ouer. I anſwere in a word: that if I ſaw them to build
vpon any true principle, I ſhould not ſo much diſſent from
them as I doe: but if they will promiſe themſelues, they
may haue peace without ground, or thinke that peace
may be good for vs without reaſon, or leape blindfolded
into a treatie, without due circumſtances, I ſay then I do
not ſuſpect too much, but rather they too little. For the
ground that we may haue peace, it is alledged, that a com-
miſſion is come to the Cardinall out of *Spaine*, and that
by vertue of that commiſſion he offers to ſend his deputy
to meet with her Maieſties. What is the concluſion there-
fore? The enemie deſires and intends peace: Allow this
for a good *ſyllogiſme*, and you may put to ſchoole al the *Lo-
gicians* in Chriſtendome. It were well concluded, this
ſhewes that he meaneth to treate: But remember howe
heretofore the *Spaniſh* kings Lieuetenant, and other mi-
niſters haue pretended commiſſion when they had none:
yea haue drawne vs to treatie, before they had there po-
wer from *Spaine*: to conclude, Remember alſo howe that
king hath ſent a commiſſion from *Spaine*, to bee openly
ſhewed that treatie might be entertained, when it is noto-

rious

ious to the world, he neuer meant to conclude any peace, witnesse of all this the Duke of *Parma*, his want of commission, when by his letters, he drew my Lord of *Darbie*, *Cobham*, and other commissioners to the treatie of *Berborch*. And afterwardes that comming of a commission, when their great Nauie did presently appeare vpon our coastes, for the conquest of *England*. But doe they offer to treate, and meane no peace? What is then their meaning? If you will haue me to interprete, I will tell you: their first maine attempt against *England*, was in 88. from that time to this present is full tenne yeares, the iust time of the siege of *Troy*. And now they see open force cannot preuaile, they in shewe retire and giue ouer armes, but they haue prepared a *Sinons* horse, which cannot enter if we cast not downe our walles. But because we are thought more credulous then the *Troian* were, the bare letter of a base beggerly traiterous fugitiue, assuring vs that good faith is meant, is the vttermost stratagem they vse to deceiue vs with: but though some beleeue it, yet I say, *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. If they appeale from my exposition, to their actions expound themselues: will they charge vs at *Berborch* with fayling to agree to peace, or wil they haue vs to allow that the Duke of *Medina* came with that huge fleete and armie onely to be witnesse to the contract: Or if they had rather their owne words should expound their meaning, then their actions, Here *Emanuell Lewes* the *Portugal*, that brought *Lopus* and *Stephano Ferrara* assurance of the 50000. Crownes, to be paid so soone as their diuelish conspiracy, against the life of our precious soueraigne, should take effect: heare him I say, who at his arraignement in *Guild hall London* cõfessed at the bar, that in their cipher and *Targon* when they wrote of peace, they intended the murther and death of her Maiestie. Or if the peace must not be condemned to be insidious, but vnder two witnesses, here also *Anthonie Rowles* nowe prisoner in the tower of *London* who comming hither out of *Spaine*

with

with a pretence of making a nouerture of peace, and for better colour bringing letters to her Maiestie, to your selfe and me, from *Teswell* the *Iesuite*, to that end confessed vpon his examination taken by maister *Secretarie*, and my selfe, that his true errand giuen him by some of the king of *Spaines* chiefest ministers, was, to discouer the state of our preparations, to assure the Papistes of *England*, that they might shortly expect their deliuerance, to win some counsellors about her Maiestie, or noblemen in this kingdome to fauour their case, and to offer me from the Spanish king, what euer portion or summe of money I would desire, so as I would be wonne to take their part. Nowe iudge (worthy maister *Bacon*) out of the clearenesse of your owne iudgement, how I should vnderstand their offer and speach of peace: and thinke out of the worthines of your owne heart, what peace my heart could take with them, that haue attempted to conquer my countrey, practized to murder my Soueraigne, and sought out me as a fitte man to be tempted to betray both my Queene and countrey. But if God had not put me backe, and arrested by contrary winds this last sommer, I should haue taught that proud king what effect his offers had wrought in me. And that the longer the will of God, and my Soueraigne doe restraine me, with the greater interest I hope to pay him in the ende. But our peacemakers may alleadge that times are chaunged, and with the times the humours of princes and affaires do commonly chaunge: So although heretofore their were no trust to be giuen to the enemies word, or faire shewes; yet now his humour, or the consideration of his owne affaires may dispose him to make peace: For my part ere I can beleeue that he is of a peaceable humour, I must know how his ambitious and reuengfull humours are satisfied, and quenched. Satisfied they cannot be: for he hath receiued ouerthrowe in encounters, ill successe in all attemptes, and losse and scorne in all the warre he hath had with our Maiestie. Quenched

they

hey are not like to be, for if apprehenſion of death would haue quenched them, he would not the laſt yeare, when he came newly out of that traunce, which was thought would had been his dead ſound, had aſked the firſt worde that he ſpake, whether the *Adelantado* were gone for *England*: Or if remorſe of conſcience would haue quenched them, he would not in his deuotions being at maſſe, haue vowed to be reuenged on *England*, though he ſould all the candleſtickes vpon the altar before him Of the firſt of theſe ſpeaches, my ſelfe, and ſome of my fellow commiſſioners haue ſeene very credible aduertiſement out of *Spaine*. And the ſecond was deliuered both to you and to me by the mouth of a principall *Ieſuite*, newly come out of *Spaine*. But we may well conclude that his humour is not like to be chaunged, for he will neuer thinke he hath ſufficient parte of the earth, till his mouth be full of earth: And ſome of his ghoſtly fathers the *Ieſuites*, will as well perſwade that the inuaſion of other princes kingdomes is a worke of pietie: as they, doe teach deſperate conſpirators, that to murder princes is the way to heauen: And if he ſhould die to morrow his ſonnes bloud is hotter, and his humour of ambition is like to be greater, he hath bin creede *in domo Regnatrici*, and his minde ſhewes to be already ſwollen, *veteri atq; inſita Auſtriacæ familiæ ſuperbia*. Soas in their peaceable humours there being no hope, let vs ſee what is the preſent ſtate of their affaires. Princes and ſtates when they do enter into conſideration of their owne affaires, may diſpoſe themſelues to peace, for vtilitie, conueniencie, or neceſſitie. For vtilitie: if they can get aduantage. For conueniencie. if peace be fitteſt to conſerue them in the ſtate they are. For neceſſitie: when they haue no longer meanes to make warre. That it is like the king of *Spaine* will make peace with vs, becauſe he ſhall get aduantage, our peacemakers will not agree, and if they doe, it is their owne fault: if we fall into the pitte, which they ſhew vs ſo plainely. That he ſhould not be in-

clined to peace with *England* for conueniencie, if neither aduantage intice him, nor neceſſitie inforce him, I reaſon thus: All ſtates doe ſtand as much by reputation, as by ſtrength, eſpecially where there dominions are deuided farre, and where a fewe of one nation giue the law to great multitudes of many: Now let the Indies, the lowe countries, *Naples*, *Millaine*, ſee that *Spaine* that hath ſo long tirannized ouer them, is gladde after ſo many ouerthrowes, diſgraces, and loſſes to make peace with *England*, vpon equall termes, and they will know that the *Spaniſh* are *Hombres commo los otos*, and that it hath bin baſenes in them all this while, *Seruitutem ſuam quotidiè emere, quotidiè paſcere*: ſo as I conclude, by ſuch a peace, the *Spaniſh* ſhuld looſe all reputation of his Armes, and honour of his greatnes, and his countreyes would not be kept from reuolting by any poſſibility. And therefore conueniency cannot moue him to any peace with vs. That neceſſity or want of meanes ſhuld driue him to it, I thinke it, both Improbable, and impoſſible, Improbable: that he that ſo lately aſſailed *England*, *Fraunce* and the lowe countries at once, hauing nowe brooken the bande of league, and deuided *Fraunce* from the other two, ſhould thinke himſelfe vnable to make warre with vs. Impoſſible: that hee ſhoulde lacke meanes. Wants he treaſure? his *Partido* to pay his armie, is made with the Genowaies for a great time to come: And as his enterpriſes are his ebbtides, to make his treaſure runne low, ſo his *Indian* retournes are his floudes to fill the bankes againe. Wantes he men? why beſides all his new allies, he hath thoſe forces, that were imployed in *Fraunce* free to be vſed againſt vs. Wantes he ſhips? he buildes euery day, and may embarge in *Spaine* as many as he liſt, and is now both combining himſelfe with the *Eaſterlinges*, and conſpiring with them againſt vs Wantes he victuals? beſides the helpes he was woont to haue, he ſhall now by the peace in *Fraunce* haue aſmuch as hee liſt. So as I conclude, which way ſoeuer I turne my ſelfe I ſee

no likelihood of his disposing himselfe to peace with vs, and if no peace be to be had, thē no treatie is to be entred into For from him by intertayning treatie, we can draw nothing, nor succour any body, and he may make vs and our onely confederats so iealous one of the other, as in striuing to take the start, we should striue who should lose them selues first. But if I allow our peacemakers their assurance of peace, let me see what is their purchase, if they can make any peace with *Spaine* good for vs, it must be by including our confederates in the low countries, or excluding them, but I suspect neyther of these can be good or safe for vs, therfore I iudge they can make no good peace at all. To include the low countries in our peace it is impossible, except they acknowledge the king of *Spaine* or him that shall claime vnder him for their Soueraigne, as the Duke of *Burgundie* which if they doe all thinges else, which should giue power to the enemie, and bringes slauerie vpon the *Netherlandes*, and danger vpon, will necessarily follow. The reason is manifest, for when the authoritie of the generall states, and the present forme of gouernment, of the vnited prouinces shall bee broaken and dissolued, a monarchie set vp, and a prince acknowledged, there shall nothing limit the princes absoluteneſſe, but his owne will The strength of a contract cannot limit it, for neither will he keepe faith with those whome he accounteth Heretiques, and calleth rebels, neither will they make any longer delay to betray themselues, for prouince will striue with prouince, towne with towne, and man with man who shall be obsequious, and shew themselues most seruile, all care of defence neglected by minds bewitched with the name of peace, all memorie of former tirannie blotted out of their heartes, resolued to accept a Soueraigne. Some will seeke for charge of souldiers, some for magistracie in townes, some for gathering of custome, and handling of money, some for offices of iustice, some for benifices, and spirituall liuinges, all for trade into

Spaine and into the *Inides*, euery man for priuate gaine, and no man for pubelique safetie: The magistrates and gouernours cannot limit it, for the chiefe men which now bare rule in martiall and ciuill gouernment, will prouide by flight for their owne safetie, for if the braue Count *Edmoundes* bought his trust and confidence in his Maiestie with the price of his head, what shall any lowe countrey subiect hope in, when his many memorable seruices, especially those two memorable battles of *Granteline* and S. *Quintins*, and his putting himselfe into the *Spaniards* handes, could not ouerweigh the suspition of the combining with the reuolters, what hope of future merit shall weigh downe the offence of those, which haue by counsell or action, maintained the state of the lowe countries against *Spaines* garrisons. Nor troopes of souldiers cannot limit it, for there will be nothing to pay them, when any thing aboue the kings ordinarie is demanded of the people, it will be answered, is not he our enemie? Why doe wee acknowledge him as our prince? Is he our prince? Why doe we stand out against him as against an enemie? besides all low strangers besides, and the enemie will oppresse vpon any sodaine by force, for his meanes depend vpon himselfe, the others vpon the will of a people that will be glad to spare the purse, when they see present wars, and the enemies number will be farre greater then the States, banish straungers on both sides, yet the enemie shall be strengthened with espaniolized *Netherlandes*, and the states defended but by such as shall take oathe to the enemie. Stipulation of other princes cannot limit it, for the state wil be oppressed on the suddaine, when their helpes will come too late, and those princes that were glad to make peace, when the enemie was weake themselues vnited, and the low countries flourishing, will not begin a new quarrell, when the enemies strength is recouered, themselues deuided, and the lowe countries lost. Yet those that I haue named are the least assurances, that

ither our peacemakers can propound, or the vnited pro-
inces receiue, I wil adde further, that as it is certaine, no
eace is to be had with the vnited prouinces, except a So-
eraigne be acknowledged: so is it with out all doubt that
here can be no peace concluded, except popish religion,
e either vniuersally established, or else freely exercised
n the townes and prouinces where nowe it is banished,
llowe the first, that they banish Gods true seruice, to
ring in idolatrie, the leaue truth to receiue falshood, they
efuse the protection of the most merciful god in heauen,
o win the fauour of the most tirannical prince in the erth,
llowe the second you bring in a pluralitie of religions,
hich is no lesse crime, and which is against the pollicie
f all states, because where there is not vnitie in the
hurch, there can be no vnitie nor order in the state, for
s the mingling of poyson with wholesome liquor in one
essell, doth not corrupt that which is *Letheal*, but corrup-
th that which is wholesome, so the poysoned doctrine
f these espaniolized *Iesuites* once brought in, will quickly
aue no one professour in al the vnited prouinces. So that
conclude it were both folly and impietie, for them to
ake any such peace, or for vs to drawe them to it, yea
ore folly in vs, then euer was committed in any state.
or what will not the enemie be able to doe vpon vs, when
sides the forces he now hath, he shall haue a countrey
his handes able to find him 60000. or 80000. souldiers,
o. shippes of warre, besides infinite numbers of trans-
rting vessels, and commodious Portes that are but a
yes sayling from the very heart of *England*. But the
w countries shall be giuen to the Infant, shee marryed
the Archduke *Albert*, and so that state deuided from
e crowne of *Spaine* in a farre safer hand. For the disuni-
ng of them, I answere, the Infant is (if the Prince of
ine haue no children) to be heire to her brother, and
r brother in like case to her, and then are the states v-
ed, the onely likelihood of their remayning seuered is

if they both haue children, and yet since none of that house doe marry father of then cosen Germaines, I see not why we shuld not suspect their coniunction by such a match. But allowe them seuered, is not *Albert* sonne in lawe to the late king, and brother in lawe to the present is he not to be backed by the force of *Spaine*, and maintained by the purse of *Spaine*? will hee not serue the Spanish kings turne aswell to ioyne in warre against *England*, as the Duke of *Sauoy* that marryed the other sister did warr against *Fraunce*? Nay hath he not a suspected strength of his owne, by being brother to the present Emperor, and in no vnlikely hope, to bee Emperour himselfe hereafter. Nay is not the Infant, the person whose title to the crown of *England*, *Parsons* so laboured to prooue? Is not the low countries the rise by which hee must leape into *England*? Is not such a peace as this in hande, the meanes to assure her of all the lowe Countries, Is not the armie which is nowe vnder her newe husbande, the force on which the enemie for his enterprize of *England* must set his rest? yes yes this cohærence is manifest, and their designe clearely discouered. And it is too plain what is to be expected of our peace if we include the low countries. Now let vs consider how good it may be if we abandon them, I haue euer thought that such a peace might bee good for vs, if they that perswade vnto it, could prooue three thinges. First, that they of the lowe Countries will haue both will and strength to maintaine the warre, though we make peace and forsake them. Secondly, so we leaue them wee may haue good conditions for our selues. And thirdly, that as our affaires nowe stand a neutralitie can be possible kept by vs, while the vnited prouinces and the enemie are in warre. In the will of the lowe Countries to continue warre, and to refuse all conditions that the enemie shall offer, I vnderstande the resolution and counsell of the gouernours of the state, and the conformitie of the people to such a resolution [illegible]

strength

rength I meane aswell the strength of the gouernours to rce the people if they bee aduerse, as the strength and fficiencie of their meanes to endure so great and so arpe a warre, as will fall vppon them.) Of the chiefe ouernours resoluing there, may be these doubtes, that ey shall be tempted by the enemies offers, who if he can il purchase the seuerally, that he may reduce them vni- rsally. And that they shall be terrified with the danger counsell, for it soundes both harshly aforehand, and is e to fal out vnsuccessitely at the first, the enemie being much maister of the fields as some place will be caried. know they doe pretend to be resolute one way, and pro- st against giuing eare to treatie, but that may be eyther moue vs by example or to make vs to leaue pressing of em to a treatie, or to seeme to hold out to the last that e may seeme rather to haue vndone them, then they to doe themselues. But if they vpon mature deliberation ould chuse the continuance of the warres as the lesse the two euils, yet that they people will be like affected is not probable, for when a people that hath been long red with the miserie of the war, shall heare the pleasing me of peace, when they that had two mightie Princes yned with them in a straight defensiue and offensiue ague, shall see themselues abandoned first by *Fraunce*, u then by *England*, when one the one side for the main- nance of the warres, they shall haue newe and great ntributions demaunded of them, and one the other le they shall be offered all plausible conditions of peace, y when they shall see *England* by making peace, get the ade of *Spaine* from them, and they alone by standing ut, shall be barred of that Nauigation which hath made em so mightie in shipping, and so encreased in wealth d riches, what then the multitude is like to chuse, is it t easie to iudge? And if the people be not conformable themselues, how by the authoritie of the gouernours of state (which are called the generall states) they may

be

be forced I doe not see, First because it is not an absolute and necessary, but a limited and voluntarie obedience which they yeelde. Secondly because the state hath not (as the state of *Rome* had, and the state of *Venice* hath) one place that as the head doth commaund and direct all the partes of the body, but is compounded of equal parts: *Zealand* is as absolute as *Holland*, *Friseland* as eyther of them, yea not onely the least prouince, but the least town holdes it selfe to haue a kinde of Soueraigntie, and will haue as free a voyce as the greatest. Thirdly because of the former manner of proceedinges, which hath not byn to send commaundementes to binde, but deputies to perswade: not to resolue and conclude in the greatest causes in any one counsell, or assembly, but to sound and feele the disposition of euery prouince, and so to winne them to like of that they haue deuised of. And lastly because that euen amongst themselues, they are for the time generall states, there is not like to be vnanimitie in opinion, and then though they that dissent (being fewe) will not beare the enuie to stande in counsell against the greater parte, yet it is easie for them, when they come home to worke in the particular prouinces and townes, such a distruste of that which shall be generally propounded to all as the resolution will sticke, and the whole businesse be ouerthrowne, it being vnsafe for them to denie libertie of voyce to any, such libertie being the true cause of their taking armes, and standing out against the common enemie. But admit both by the gouernours of state and people, it were resolued that the low Countries alone should remaine in war, how are their meanes, or is their strength like to maintayne warre. Of all forraine helpe they are vtterly destitute, *Fraunce* makes no diuersion, *England* can yeeld no succours, and in all Christendome their is no other prince or state likely or able to back them. Their owne meanes and abilitie grow either by the fruit of the earth, or by traffique and merchandise, for the fruites of

the earth, that meanes is like to be but ſmall, for the enemy being maiſter of the fields, and able to deuide his forces into diuerſe places, will euery day eyther winne from them, part of that they hould, or at the leaſt, ſo infecte thoſe partes that are already in the *States* obedience, as except it bee in *Holland*, or *Zealand*, which the enimie cannot yet come vnto, the huſbandrie will bee ill followed, and yealde little profitte. And as for their meanes by traffique, it is vnlikely that merchauntes, that may remoue their dwellinge, to peaceable places nere hande, where they may haue ſafe and free trade, will remayne in the *Low Countreies*, which onely is in warre, of all theſe partes of Chriſtendome: and if they keepe their dwelling, yet will the *Spaniarde* without doubt baniſh them the trade into *Spaine*, when both *Fraunce*, and *England*, and the *Eaſterlinges* ſhall ſupply him, and will ſeeke both to baniſh and impeach them of other trade, aſmuch as hee can, pretending that they are now the onely perturbers of the peace of Chriſtendome. So as I conclude, when I thinke with my ſelfe what the gouernours of the ſtate of the vnited prouinces are like to reſolue, what the people in generall will be like to deſire, howe hardly the multitude will be forced againſt their liking, or the meanes of the *Low Countries* make them ſubſiſt to themſelues, I ſee nothing but danger that the enemie will ſhortly and ſuddenly be maſter of all the country: which how it importeth vs to preuent, it hath bin before made plain. I wil now cõſider what conditions we are like to haue for our ſelues, ſo we wil forſake our confederats, reſtitutiõ of places we can not demand, as *Fraunce* did, for the enemie holds none of ours. Reparation of damage we can as little ſeeke for, for from him we haue ſuſtained no loſſe. And trade into the *Indies* our zealous peacemakers wil not ſtand for, leaſt the enemie offended wil grant no peace. Traffique into *Spaine* and *Portugall* we ſhall haue, and that is the onely condition that carries any ſhewe of aduantage to vs. But if we

conſider

conſider howe greedie our merchantes will be of ſuch a trade at firſt, and how eaſie it will be for a faith breaking enemie to confiſcate all our countrimens goodes, and to embarge and vſe *Engliſh* ſhipping againſt *England*, wee would not bragge to much of this aduantage. But on the other ſide he will require alteration in our gouernment, or in the execution of our lawes for matters of religion, deliuering vp the townes her Maieſtie hath in the *Low Countries*, and reparation of all the damages ſuſteyned in the wars. The firſt is a condition only for a conquerour to impoſe, and vnfitte for a braue ſtate (that in all the warr heretofore hath had the better) once to heare mentioned. The ſecond ſhould neuer be aſked of a Queene ſo iuſt, as ſhee will not yeald vp the keyes of a countrey, deliuered by her beſt confederates, into the handes of her greateſt enemies, nor of a prince ſo wiſe, as ſhee will not adde ſtrength to him, whoſe ſtrength alreadie ſhee holdeth ſo much ſuſpected, nor inable him to inuade, whoſe ambition and malice thirſteth after inuaſion and conqueſt. The third condition is vnpoſſible to be graunted, for the loſſe the king of *Spaine* hath receiued in theſe warrs amounteth to a greater ſumme then the treaſure of all the kings in Chriſtendome. If It be aſked how I knowe that theſe conditions will be demaunded, I anſwere, I learne *Albertus* mind of *Albertus* himſelfe, and the *Spaniards* conditions out of the inſtruction giuen to the *Spaniſh* commiſſioners. If it be ſayd though in the intercepted letters and inſtructions, ſuch conditions were to bee asked but neuer meant, they ſhould be inſiſted vpon, I anſwere, that in the inſtruction to the *Spaniſh* commiſſioners, it is expreſly ſet downe in the firſt and third condition: the legate ſhall be preſſed to vrge the *French* king, to ſtand with them in obtayning them: and for the ſecond, if the *Engliſh* commiſſioners doe cut of all hope of deliuering the townes, that then the treatie ſhall inſtantly breake of, which is as much as if he ſhould ſay, except *England* will giue vs the

keyes

eyes of the *Low Countries*, whereby we may reduce them, nd let vs haue the Port of *Flushing* in which our Galleys ay winter, and from which we may set out our fleete for he conquest of *England* whensoeuer we will breake, wee ill haue no peace with *England* at this time. But if it be raunted that the *Low Countries* wil maintaine the wars a- one, and that *Spaine* will grant vs good conditions so we il abandon the states, how wil it appear that it is possible or vs betwixt these two to hold a neutralitie. If we do not he vnited prouinces some fauour vnderhand, at least by letting them be serued by such of our nation, as will vo- luntarily offer themselues vnto them, their state cannot e maintained, nor they kept our friendes whom we suffer o perish. On the other side, if we doe them in this kinde or any other, any fauour which shall keepe them from pe- rishing, we giue the *Spaniard* and the Archduke a newe quarrell, and so make them of new become our enemies. Besides her Maiestie hath bestowed in the action in the *Low Countries* at the least 4 millions of crownes, and shee hath in pawne for the debt which the states owe her, the townes of *Flushing* and the *Brill*: to reimburse that which is due, and to maintaine the warres the states are vnable, to deliuer the townes without reimbursement were vtter- ly to loose all the treasure spent, and the authoritie and bridle which her Maiestie hath vpon that people, which is one of the greatest securities of her state: to keepe them (especially *Flushing*) and to remaine in new treatie in my vnderstanding seems altogether vnpossible, for when the enemie shall see that neither by treatie, nor offer of his large conditions, the states will be wonne, he will assayle them by force, yea he will take that way which will bee shortest and easiest for the reduction of the whole, which will be to bring his Galleys into the riuers, and to transport men into the Ilandes, for so by peircing into *Zeland*, he shall make his way into *Holland*, and if hee haue once good footing in these 2. prouinces, he is straight ma-

ſter of the whole ſtate, If *Fluſhing* which is the onely bulwarke againſt the Ilandes and the Caſtle of *Rammekins*, which commaundeth the riuer of *Stoad* ſhall not impeach nor offend the enemie, he will carrie all the reſt of the Iland of *Walcherzen*, and ſo conſequently all *Zeland*: if after he is become her Maieſties friend, he be vſed as an enemie, by that places ſhe holdes the peace is broaken, but though it were proued neuer ſo fully, that the peace which we might haue (if we may haue any at all) is full of dangers & incõueniences, yet ſom are ſo zelous of it that they will ſay it is the miſery of our ſtate, that we neither haue a good peace, nor a good warre, and of the two euils it is better to haue a practiſed peace, then an inſupportable warre. But iniurious are theſe to the men of warre that fight for them, and defend them, in thinking our Armes which haue euer done honour to our countrey, ſtricken terrour to the heartes of our enemies, leſſe able to defend our countrey, then their treaties which haue neuer beene free from ſcorne and diſaduantage. Iniurious are they to the countrey which bredde them, which being one of the braueſt, ſtrongeſt, and happieſt ſtates of Chriſtendome, is iudged by theſe men as weak as their owne weake hearts. Iniurious they are to her Maieſtie who hath ruled them, who being ſo great, ſo glorious, ſo victorious a Queene, ſhall be iudged vnable to maintaine warre, when ſhe cannot haue peace but at the pleaſure of her enemie. Iniurious and moſte vnthankfull to God himſelfe are they that hitherto fought for them, in that for an vnſafe peace with an Idolatrous and irreligious nation they would leaue an honourable and iuſt warre: when they haue done all that they can, if the enemie will not conclude peace, we muſt haue warre. And ſhall not reaſonable men then aſwell be perſwaded by neceſſitie of reaſon, as by neceſſity of fortune. But wherein doe they find ſuch inſufficiencie to maintayne the warres? our Nauy, as alſo that of the confederats was neuer ſtronger: nor the ene-

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ny in shipping halfe so weake: our nation generally was neuer so martiall, nor neuer had so many able leaders. Our confederates in the *Low Counteies* who being firmely knit vnto vs, are of more vse then all the friendes in Christendome, (that euer we had or can haue) they I say were neuer more resolute, *Fraunce* hath left vs, we are eased of many chardges, and shall make warre in fewer places, *Ireland* is chargeable, that charge may wel be borne, when it is almost the sole burthen that lieth vpon vs, yet if there be any weakenes in our meanes to make warre, it is in our treasure. But if it be considered howe for this present yeare *Spaine* hath no abilitie to assayle vs, howe the next yeare the yearely subsidies will beginne to be paid, how in *Fraunce* we haue an end of all chardges, and are to receiue reinbursement of that is due, how in the *Low Countries* her Maiesties expence may also ease, and shee receiue some helpe towardes her other chardges, yea, though her Maesties treasure be drawne deepe into, and the poore husbandmen by these late hard yeres, hath now scant means to liue, yet if our sumptuous buildings, surfeiting dyet, our prodigalitie in garmentes, our infinite plate, and costly furniture of houses be considered, *England* cannot bee thought to be poore. Can we exceed all nations in Christendome in expencefull vanities? and can we not arme our selues against one nation which we haue alwaies beaten for our necessary defence? was *Rome* so braue a state as the very Ladies to supply the common treasure to maintaine the warres, spoyled themselues of their iewels and rich ornamentes? And is *England* so base a state, that the men in it wil not bestow some of their superfluous expences, to keepe themselues from conquest and slauerie? did the kinges and religious people of the old Testament to maintaine the warres against the enemies of God, sell the ornamentes of the Temple, and thinges consecrated to holy vses? and shall not we which haue as holy a warre, spare those thinges which we haue dedicated to our idle

and ſenſuall pleaſures? and could our nation in thoſe former g llant ages, when our countrey was farre poorer, then it is now, leauie armes, make warre, atchieue great conqueſts in *Fraunce*, & make our powerful arms known as farre as the holy land? and is this ſuch a degenerate age, as we ſhall not be able to defend *England*? no, no, there is ſome ſeede yet left of the auncient vertue. Remember with what ſpirit and alacrity, the Gentlemen of *England* haue put themſelues into our late actions, There will euer be found ſome *Valerij* that ſo the ſtate may ſtand and flouriſh, care not though they leaue not wherewith all to bury themſelues, though other bury their money not caring what caſe they leaue the ſtate. We haue thankes be to God a Queene, who neuer hath beene waſtfull in her priuate expences, yet will ſell her plate and iewels in the tower, ere her people ſhall be vndefended. We are a people that will turne our ſilken coates into iron iackets, and our ſiluer plate to coates of plate, rather then our Soueraigne ſhall be vnſerued, but why ſhould eyther prnice or people be put to that extremity: If her Maieſtie will but beſtow 60000. pound a yeare which the *Low Countries* doe coſt her, and 20000. pound a yeare which the States doe offer her, and 20000 pound more which I doubt not may be drawn, by way of reimburſement from the *French* king, this 100000. pound a yeare, with halfe as much more beſtowed by the States, who to engage her Maieſtie in maintenance of the warre, will neuer ſhrinke for their portion, this ſumme I ſay of a 100000. pound put into the handes of an honeſt and ſufficient treaſurer for the warre and to bee iſſued by warrant of a counſell of warre, well choſen, will fully and ſufficiently maintaine the war with *Spaine*, yea, if this be doubted, it ſhall be made plaine that with 150000. ſuch a force ſhall be maintained, that her Maieſtie hauing a conuenient number of her ſhips, and furniſhing them as ſhe yearly doth, the enemie ſhall bring no fleete into the Seas, for *England*, *Ireland*, and the *Low Countries*

countries, but it shall be beaten, nor seeke to gather any in *Spaine*, but the partes of it shall be defeated, before the whole be assembled, yea, those seruices shall be done vpon the enimy, that the poorest Prince and state in Christendome shall haue little cause to feare his malice. But of this question, whether we should think the peace good for vs, which the peacemakers wil procure I haue stood long inough. I come now to the last question of all, whether they doe enter into the treatie of it with due circumstances. My purpose is not to deale with complement all circumstances, or the *Pantilios* of honour (though I iudge them in their proper time and place worthy of good consideration) but the materiall circumstances which any prince or state should waigh before they enter into treatie, I iudge to be these. The time of treating, whether it yeald most aduantage for peace or warre. The persons of the treators, whether or no the enemy with whom we treate may make aduantage by pretence, if nothing be concluded. The assurance of the treatie, or strength of the knotte which is tyed, and the state and condition wee are like to be in, whensoeuer it breakes and dissolues. The onely reason which they that would haue peace do vse to proue that this season is fittest, and yealds most aduantage for peace, is, that now the king of *Spaine* is so weake and poore, that he will be brought to that, which he neyther would heretofore, nor will hereafter euer agree vnto. Therefore say they this is the onely time for peace, but sure except they were better *Logicians* or could frame better argnments, I would scarse wish them to be trusted with arguing for a treatie. The conclusion is directly contradictory to their owne proposition: for is he now vnablest of all times to encounter vs in warre? then is this of all times the fittest season to make warre. Is this the season he chuseth to recouer himselfe by peace? then of all times peace now should least be granted. Now, now is the fittest time to make warre vpon the

Spaniard,

Spaniard, his losses are not recouered, his coffers are not filled, his fleete not made, his Sea prouisions not supplied, his Indies not quiet, his sonne in law in new Soueraignty not setled. But her Maiesties late batteries haue made way to her greater and higher attemptes: Terror accompanies the powerfulnesse of her Armies, feare possesseth the heartes of her enimies, and God himselfe by the successe hath iudged her cause: All the world hath seene what hath happened, and the actions past. The common conclusion is, *Victrix causa, quia dijs placuit.* So on the other side, now of all times is the vnfittest season to make peace, when the state of our best confederates is so vndetermined by practise, threatned by force, and sollicited to their owne vndoing by forrayne princes, as except wee both incourage them, and cleaue fast to them, their ruine is at hand. Now it is no time to make peace with the chiefe enimy of onr religion, when a conspiracy is in hand, against all the professors of it The newes is too rife, and too credible, that this vndertaking *Pope*, after his victories so glorious in *Ferrara*, and his powerfull reconciling of two great kinges, in the heate of so greate a war that now he will not leaue, till he make a generall league against all such, as doe not, or will not acknowledge the omnipotency of his *Bulles*. Now if we shew our selues so weake, that wee follow not the aduantage we haue, wee shall hereafter be thought so weak, as we may haue any condicions bee inforced vpon vs Now if we refuse the condicions, which our friendes will offer to purchase in our constancy, wee must resolue, hereafter to take such condicious as the enimy will giue, though it bee to our losse: But if wee will needes flatter onr selues, that our agreeing to peace, when the enimy desires it, can make any sounde and durable league betwixt vs: wee shall vndoubtedly finde when it is too late to say, *Inter victos victoresq; nunquam solida fides coalescit.* And vnto the circumstance of time the circumstance of persons, and it will appear

peare that the pretence and beginning to treate of peace, without concluding, is like to be very gainefull to the enemie, and preiudiciall to vs: for if he, which now is not able to guard his Indian fleete, may but while we are talking, haue one or two returnes in safetie, if he which neuer feeles the strength of *England* and the *Low Countries*, as they are vnited, can for the present seuer them in counsell and affection, as he may hereafter more easily deuide them in partes, If he that neuer wantes mallice, but now wantes strength, can sing vs a sleepe with the name of peace, till hee may rouse vs from sleepe by a thundering warre, his gaine, and our losse by this bare pretence will quickly appeare. Then for assuring, wee giue the enimy as good as he can desire, in forbearing him when hee is weakest, and letting goe our aduantage, when it is greatest, wee shew, that nothing can draw vs to warre, if wee may haue peace. On the other side, if a nation that yet neuer treated with vs, but to deceiue vs, and thinkes our religion but heresie, our church schismaticall, our Queene excommunicated, so as by their owne principles, they are neither to keepe faith with vs, nor let vs receiue good by a contract with them: what assurance, I say, can wee haue of such an enemie, and in such a bargaine? First to deceiue vs, and serue their owne turne, by making peace and then breaking of it, they hold it no fault. Next if they did purpose to keepe it, the *Popes* dispensation would take it away. And lastly if the *Spaniard* will keepe a shewe of good forme, and not voluntarily breake faith when his turne is serued: the *Pope* may so chardge him to breake with vs, as conscience and obedience shal couer his malice and perfidiousnesse. Last of all let vs consider, what our state and condition is like to be, whensoeuer that running, not, or vnsure contract doth breake or dissolue. Are wee the breakers? that say that we discouer how grossely wee haue beene cosened, and howe farre the enemies proud and mischieuous designes are aduanced: doth the enemy

breake it ? then thinke that his iniuries to our state are all made vp. And when he makes them play, he will quickly after giue the assault : his fleete that now is weake, shalbe supplyed but with those Gallions he buildes, and with all the good ships of Christendome that will be bought or hired, his coffers that now are emptyed, wil be so full of treasure, as he will be able not onely to trouble kingdomes by warre, but also to purchase them with money, his ministers and best instrumentes for practise, that dare not venture themselues to come ouer, shall then haue free accesse, and our hollow hearted malecontents, if we haue any that now want traffique, will be then ready and confident to intertaine any practise, the *Low Countries* that now are his strong enemies, either vniuersally by treatie, or in part by conquest shall be reduced to bee his obedient subiects, our victories wilbe forgotten, these men of warre we haue shall either be driuen to seeke new countries and new fortunes, or to be consumed in a miserable beggerly *Irish* war, our nation generally grow vnwarlicke, in loue with the name, and bewitched with the delight of peace, and the *Spanyard* courage will bee recouered togither with their strength, which is the naturall roote of all confidence.

These, these (worthy Maister *Bacon*) are my apprehensions and doubtes, that make mee afrayd to treate: Let this bee answered, cleared, and resolued, or let any man shew me, how we shall haue an honourable, safe, and stable peace, and I will imbrace both it and him, with both mine armes. But till then I say: *Iustissimum ijs bellum, quibus necessarium, & pia arma, quibus nulla, nisi in armis, spes est.*

FINIS.

La. *Rich* to her Maiestie in the behalfe of the Earle of *Essex*.

EArely did I hope this morning, to haue had mine eyes blessed with your Maiesties beauties, but seeing the same depart into a cloud & meeting with spirites, that did presage by the wheeles of their chariots, some thunder in the ayre, I must complaine and expresse my feares, to that high Maiestie and diuine oracle, from whence I receiue a doubtfull answere: vnto whose power I must sacrifice againe, the teares and praiers of the afflicted, that must dispaire in time, if it be too soone to importune heauen, when we feele the miseries of hell: or that wordes directed to that sacred wisedome, should out of season be deliuered for my vnfortunate brother, whom all men haue libertie to defame, as if his offences were capitall, and he so base deiected a creature, that his loue, his life, his seruice to your beauties, and the state had deserued no absolution after so hard punishment, or so much as to answere in your faire presence: who would vouchsafe more iustice and fauour, then hee can expect of partiall iudges. For those combined enemies, which lay open false groundes to build his ruine, vrging his fault as criminall to your diuine honour, thinking it heauen to blaspheme heauen, when their owne particular malitie and counsels, haue practised onely to glut themselues in their priuate re-

uenge, not regarding your seruice, or losse, so much as their ambitious ende to rise by his ouerthrowe: And I haue reason to apprehend that if your faire hand do not check the course of their vnbridled hate, that the last course will be his last breath, since their cuill instrumentes that by their office and cunning, prouided for the feast, haue sufficient poyson in their heartes to insert to the seruice, which they wil serue, shall be death to digest, till it be tasted, and then it will proone but preparation for greater mischefes, concealed among such craftie woorkemen, as would not only pull downe all the obstacles of their greatnes, but when they are in their full strength like the Giants make warre against heauen. But your Maiesties gracious conclusion in giuing hope of the voide, is all the comforte I haue: which if you hasten not, before he take full surfet of disgraces, they will say, the spottes they haue cast vpon him are too foule to be washed away: And so his blemished reputation must disable him, for euer serving againe his Sacred Goddesse, whose excellent beauties and perfections will neuer suffer those faire eyes, to turne so far from compassion, but at the least, if hee may not returne to the happines of his former seruice, to liue at the feete of his admired Mistresse, yet he may sitte downe to a priuate life without the imputation of infamie: That his posterity may not repent, their fathers were borne of so hard a destenie, two of them perishing by being imploied in one country, where they would haue done

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